/61 cont./

581 131. When their daughters are capable of being mothers, their progenitors positively warn them of the obligations of the state /62/ of matrimony, especially that they have to be esenekama-yen, industrious, or, more literally, recipients full of work; in the same way they advise them to seek a husband for themselves, but that he must also be industrious, especially a good hunter and fisherman. (Concerning this latter see the very practical and expressive counsels of these patriarchs, which we transcribe in part in another place.)

●584 132. "When their daughters have a fiancé or suitor, their parents observe in silence," (I continue copying from Ernesto) "and if they see that he not a very good worker and they don't like his behavior, they say so to their daughter, but in such a way that the fiancé hears it; this makes them despondent and to reflect. But also sometimes they visit each other at night without the parents finding out about it."

584 From what has just been said it can be deduced with how
576 much reason the clearest manifestation that an Indian can make to a girl with whom he is in love or to a mother that he is in love with her daughter is to give them presents of game and fish. And the acceptance of these and, especially, the preparing and serving of them is a manifest sign of accepting his love or at least that he may court her. For the same reason it is not accepted as a rule of morality and of etiquette that an Indian girl should offer drink and food to anybody who is not her husband or her declared and accepted fiancé. How well does the proverb say that "gifts crack rocks!"

585 133. Marriage does not have any special ceremony; it is simply what is noted in Pimentel's account, which we shall copy later.

583 But after the union has taken place, the most generous Indians (and there are no lack of the other sort) usually remain for some time almost as though they were laborers for their parents-in-law, paying in some way for the delights and abilities of the beloved wife rather than the parents-in-law

P 582 [563] /63 cont./ people in these cases usually exaggerate to the point of saying that "just as a dog joins with a bitch and a horse with a mare, thus an Indian man should marry an Indian woman, and a Creole a Creole." And they customarily also say that if Creoles want to marry their daughters, they must bring their sisters to marry Indian men.

P C 584 585 171 136. Now, so that the similarity of these Indians to the ancient Indians of Caracas can be seen, I am going to transcribe a paragraph of Pimentel's geographic account, which deals with the subject of marriages.

In regard to marriages and the absence of formalities and festivities, as well as the spontaneity and absolute liberty of those who contract it, the present-day situation also coincides with the ancient one of the Caracas Indians, of whom J. Pimentel writes: "In marriages they have this system: when an Indian finds an Indian woman who pleases him, he gives her to understand this with words, and if it seems to him that she responds favorably, he goes to her house, and if she gives him something to sit on and brings him a gourd bowl of water so that he can wash and puts out something for him to eat, he then understands the will of the girl and they go and sleep together without it seeming bad to her parents and relatives, and thus they are married, and in this marriage only their will keeps it going for a greater or lesser period of time." /64/

Chapter XVI

800 What Should Be Understood By Kanaima?

137. The firm belief in Kanaima. 138. General statements. 139. Magic properties. 140. Are they happy with these ideas? 141. What is the missionaries' idea of the Kanaima?

/75 cont./

776 of this sort, which I have taken down in my ethnographic notes,
861 I remember as very appropriate that mothers of screaming children threatened to take them out of the house and call the virumaimá or some other great bird of prey to carry them off. To lazy ones carrying small guayares or loads, they say that the buzzards will dirty over those whom they see walking along unloaded.

861 165. Punishments. My interrogator assumes that the Indians under censure or correction never get to the point of punishment, and that all censure of offenses and abuses consists of expressions /76/ like those of the weak Helí: "You don't want to do that, my children; you should not do what is bad; don't make me sad." Frankly, my questioner is in error, and I must clearly confess to him that these Indians, in addition to the gentle and exhortatory "nauandok neke" ("one must not do or be thus") know how to use a quite ungentle hand of punishment. It should suffice to open the dictionary to see that among them exist aipopuetok, "the whip," and popuetok, or "simple beating."

In my ethnographic notes there are noted down two other truly savage punishments which, so it seems, mothers apply with some frequency to their naughty, impudent, etc., children. The application is made by placing them face down lying in a hammock and at a certain height above a candle and then putting on the candle ají so that it will make them suffer a coughing fit, which through personal experience I know to be extremely bothersome. Other times they stick up the rectum the same irritant, either in powder with salt (chikirimá) or simply chopped up (puemuei estamosak).

●584 166. Marriages. Although these natives are extremely
581 free in the selection of a consort, and we have never seen anything remotely like the purchase of a woman, perhaps because of the very fortunate (in this case) poverty in which they live, it is clear to us and we have noted that parents positively advise

/76 cont./

584 their daughters (and the more so when they find themselves
581 older and less able to work) that they not marry an Indian who is too young, or an Indian who does not know how to weave baskets, sebucanes, guayares, etc..., or Indians of short stature; that on the contrary they prefer one who is already mature, an early riser, one who wets his knees with the saliva of the stars (dew), one who stains his arms with mud and with earthworms' feces or the flesh caught by his fishhook, one who has undergone the incisions or "oaouek" and the "eseunakipa" or indigestion /sic -- "ingestion"/ through the nasal passage of magic remedies so that he may be a clever hunter and fisher, etc.

152 Possibly the Indians are of a less violent nature than we; and there is no doubt but that they are more long-suffering and patient, they hide their feelings better, and thus they manage to have a more placid life.

576 167. Rules of etiquette. The Indians follow their rules in greetings and farewells, in their modest banquets for guests and strangers, and in discussions themselves.

576 For those who like to blame and scorn the natives, I can
593 transcribe a small detail of their daily life: The Indian asks for water from his wife, and she, if there is any, will bring him kachirí after having tried it herself. When I asked them why they did that and why they asked for it in that way, they told me that they always asked for water in case there should be no kachirí, so that the woman would not be embarrassed. And she always /77/ tries everything before serving it as a sign of union and mutual confidence.

[609] Without an order from her husband a woman will never present food or drink to any strange man.

[264] On the arrival of strangers, the women will eat apart and after the men.

512 Let it also be noted that, once the "atapontén seré" has been said, it is time to lie down; the serious and formal Indians (and I say it because there is no lack of more or less headstrong

/90 cont./

583 196. To constitute a family, in general, no other thing
584 is influential except the mutual inclination of the parties and
[593] their complete freedom; in such a way that marriages are frequently made against the will of the parents, sometimes on trips or in distant rancherias and even with individuals of a different tribe; and that the return of a son or a daughter, after a long absence, to his or her parents, introducing to them the new daughter-in-law or new son-in-law, which so often appears in stories, is a faithful transcription of real life.

583 Material interest then customarily flourishes on the lips of
606 the woman's progenitors with respect to their son-in-law, since they consider him to have benefitted (as in fact he has) through the acquisition of the daughter raised by them with so much work, and as a consequence they usually ask him to help them in their chores or in the building of houses; but from this it should not be inferred that this is a matter of purchase-sale nor of inferiority of the woman.

621 197. Concerning the lack of ultra-family organization,
622 the so often cited Juan Pimentel says in his geographic report
643 of Caracas Province the following: "There are not nor has it
[651] been possible to confirm that in all this province of Caracas there have been any caciques or lords of estate or seigniory, nor do they pay tribute to anyone."

105 And more extensively he says in Chapter 15: "The natives
[622] of this province did not have nor do they have any government or police in matters of justice nor in anything which resembles this; it is all personal independence, for as there are not, nor have there been, caciques or lords, they have not had anyone
[264] to obey, and thus Peter is as good as his master; because when they eat they get together by house or barrios, and the first to stick in his hand might be the lowest rather than his better,
[554] and the boy rather than the old man; for among them there is
756 neither superiority nor betterness by way of lineage nor in any other respect; except that, if in some way there is some respected Indian, it is by way of being a piache, as has been said,

Marriage

58
178 Like some other customs, marriage among the Kamarakotos seems to be in course of modification in two directions: by the simplification or omission of old elements, social custom once having been both more complex and more rigid than it is now, and by a tendency, encouraged by the more "progressive" men, to approximate Venezuelan customs as far as these are known. Neither of these trends is, however, as yet strong enough markedly to have modified Kamarakoto society. Thus there is a definite feeling that polygamy and what are, by other standards, incestuous unions are not to be encouraged, but both are still common, and, as illustrating the other trend, bride-purchase as an essential requisite has been abandoned, but clear vestiges of it survive.

585 Marriage in a Venezuelan legal sense is, of course, non-existent. There is no authority or register for civil marriage and no priest for religious marriage.
581 Nevertheless it is proper to speak of marriage and not, as a somewhat stiff-
[588] spined student in British Guiana has done, merely of "the cohabitation of male and female." More casual cohabitation certainly occurs but it is clearly distinguished, even by the Indians, from marriage, a union which is by intention permanent and in which the social and economic considerations are at least as strong as the sexual. The fact that the ceremonies and formalities in vogue in civilized communities are omitted does not alter the fact that this is true marriage in all proper senses of the word.

● 584 The initiative in marriage may be taken by any of the parties concerned, the man, the woman, and the woman's parents. The man's parents are apparently not considered to be interested parties. Marriage does not take place without consent of the bride and normally the consent of her parents, or at least
583 of her mother, is likewise required. Presents may be given to the bride's parents,
584 and especially to her mother, by the prospective groom, but I was assured that this is by way of persuasion and to promote good feeling and not a prerequisite
[179] to the obtaining of the woman. Nevertheless, this probably is a vestige of the formerly widespread, probably universal, custom of bride-purchase. The purchase commonly took the form of personal service to the bride's father, and a typical example of this occurs in the Kamarakoto legend of Maichak, but this custom has largely been dropped. The groom, naturally well disposed toward the bride's parents, may voluntarily assist them but is never, I was told, obliged
[562] to do so. The repeated emphasis on the bride's mother, rather than her father, is also peculiar and is significant of the relatively high status of women in the tribe.

585 There are no ceremonies or formalities of any sort. When the parties are agreed, the bride and groom simply start living together.

595 The Kamarakotos are polygamous, that is, polygynous. There was some
177 reticence in supplying information as to numbers of wives, an indication of

539
[825] 188. The large kind called po. inga.

189. His death has nothing to do with the story — one of several such parenthetical statements that add circumstantial detail for no apparent reason.

190. Tangõi?.

191. Pangai?.

[462] 192. The making of the press and sieve of basketwork is man's work, assigned to Maichak. The making of the cassave itself is woman's work.

193. "Tirita" = manare.

[241] 194. Cassave plant, kõsra.

[482] [171] 195. akai?. The use by Maichak of a sort of back-pack now used almost exclusively by women among the Kamarakotos is peculiar, and it is noteworthy that the akai? is used by men among allied tribes.

[241] 196. The kind called polopakai?.

[825] 197. A "chupacacao," kadau-kadau in Kamarakoto. The species of the two preceding birds was not mentioned.

[126] [192] 198. In using "king" and "queen," I follow Antonio's Spanish, "rey" and "reina." It should be "princess," since the king's daughter is meant, and the Indian words are, of course, better rendered as "chief" and "chief's daughter," but it seemed better to follow my main source, Antonio's Spanish version, as exactly as possible.

199. As the event proved, it was not the king, but the story is here told from Maichak's point of view.

200. See note 198, above.

[551] 201. The queen's name is nowhere given and my informants did not know it. The giving of any personal names is contrary to the practice of daily life.

● [584] [583] 202. The previous relationship was irregular, since the bride's parents were not consulted. Now her father's consent is sought to regularize the

[539] [584] [583] marriage and the extravagant labors involved are obviously an exaggerated form of wife-purchase by personal service.

[825] 203. An "ancoreta," oimi in Kamarakoto.

[805] 204. Here and in many other places the expression of time in hours is from Antonio's Spanish and is his expression of equivalent but, of course, differently and more vaguely expressed times in the Indian version, as the Indians do not use the hour as a unit of time.

205. Another parenthetical comment with no actual bearing on the story at this point.

[342] 206. The difficulty is that the first step in building a house is to sink the uprights into the ground and this cannot be done in rock.

[342] 207. The specification of four posts seems to imply that a quadrangular shelter is intended.

[352] 208. murei. It is odd that the difficulty in the ensuing work is not the material, stone (never really used for benches), but the pattern. The stone-work of the termite is no more eccentric than the earlier stone-boring of a worm, but in the earlier case it was the stone that caused the difficulty.

[825] 209. muna?.

[825] 210. A kuriñata.

[825] 211. An enwara?, a spiny rock-lizard. Not as part of this story but as another legend, I was told that enwara? (then the personal name of this particular lizard and now the term for all lizards of this species) was turned into stone at the time of the earthquake (below) and this stone gives its name to Enwarapaimá-tepúi, south of Kamarata.

[824] 212. A "ceibo," asarɛ-yɛ?. The fall of this tree is another apparently wholly irrelevant detail, as is Maichak's refusal to jump.

213. pangai?. These are not normally used for fishing.

214. This was offered as an aside. The etymology is not worthy of serious consideration.